

621 families do not express their antagonism openly, for this would be a
578 serious breach of etiquette. Interestingly enough, neither of the two
776 families which personally possess these private gods is a member of any
tsu organization in the village. It appears that the possession of these
778 gods by the two families is a means that each family has used to
554 establish a place for itself in the village. The family in possession of Er
422 Shih Kung, the god which has become popular in the village seems to
have actually achieved this goal.

Other Supernatural Beings, Forces, and Beliefs

776 In addition to gods and ancestors the villagers believe in evil
supernatural beings. They are known as demons or *kuei*, but, out of
fear of their malevolence and respect for their power, the villagers
more often speak of them as gods or *shen*. The already mentioned
[775] Good Brothers belong to this group of *kuei*. "When one hits such a
[753] bad thing," one's spirit becomes possessed or is taken away by the
[721] supernatural being, and sickness, ill-fortune, or even death may result.
[777] It then becomes necessary to secure the services of a shaman or diviner
[756] to determine the cause of the trouble and appease the spirit.

Fate and Divination

777 Beyond and stronger than the influence of gods and spirits is an
787 all-pervasive force, fate. It affects and predetermines the over-all direc-
tion of life and events. The fate of an individual is determined by his
eight birth characters and "the set of forces of Yin-Yang and the Five
Elements, which were connected with the movement of the stars in
directing the mystical operation of time, which, in turn, determined
the nature of personal events" (Yang, 1961:135). The Hsin Hsing
villagers' belief in the concept of fate was well described by Kulp
(1925:171) for Phenix Village when he wrote,

Fate decides all things. Fate determined the time of birth and it will deter-
mine the hour of death, the manner of death and the experiences between
birth and death. It is useless to strive against fate. All one can do is to learn
the will of fate and conform in the best possible way. One may try to outwit
fate but sooner or later one is doomed to defeat. Such are the attitudes that
people hold regarding the great events and experiences of life.

This belief leads to various forms of divination that are designed to
determine what the individual has in store for him and what, if any-
thing, can be done about it. Thus, if resort to ancestors, gods, magic,
or medicines fails to produce results, the difficulty is accepted as prede-
termined by fate. The concept is especially valuable in preventing a
weakening of the general belief structure, for if all attempts at manip-
ulation through supernatural influence should fail, the concept of fate

753 clearly of supernatural origin and must be attacked by someone versed
755 in supernatural methods—the shaman.

755 There is no particular problem with illnesses which can be clearly
757 diagnosed as natural or supernatural. But there are many cases in
177 which the diagnosis is not so easy or clear-cut. Mainly, the villagers
178 rely on past experience to tell them which set of symptoms indicates
which category of illness, and thus which kind of practitioner to call
in. Naturally, there are considerable variations among the villagers
themselves which may predispose a decision in one direction or the
other—level of education, amount of experience, financial ability, and
even types of social pressure. As one would expect, the actual availabil-
ity of drugs and doctors affects choice. In recent years the dependence
upon Western medicines and Western-oriented doctors has increased
as a result of the increased supply of both at relatively low cost. The
ease of access to antibiotics and patent medicines, their effectiveness,
and the doctors' record of successes have given confidence in Western
science, with the result that it is common today for the villagers to
turn to Western methods first for most illnesses.

Many villagers now also feel that it is simpler to call in a Western-
style doctor. A shaman often requires the assistance of two or three
other people who must be asked in to help in the ritual, at their
convenience. Further, when the Western doctor is called in, he charges
a fee, and with its payment the transaction is completed. There is no
residual feeling of obligation which must be discharged. The shaman,
if he is a local one, usually charges nothing at all for his services, and
often it is more comfortable not to incur such a feeling of obligation.
Then, there are a number of incidental expenses connected with his
visit—the cost of sacrifices and the food for all the participants and
observers at the ritual.

Having two types of medical practice at one's disposal is not always
an unmixed blessing, however, since the decision that an illness is
natural or supernatural may be, or may be held to be, influenced by
external circumstances. A case in point is the following which hap-
pened to a very poor family in Hsin Hsing. The parents were no
longer young and already had three daughters and a small son when
another daughter was born. Before the infant was named (naming
takes place on the ninth day and is, in effect, when an infant becomes
human) she became quite ill. Instead of calling in a practitioner of
Western medicine, which many villagers insisted they would have
done first, the family chose to consider the illness supernatural because
the baby was not yet nine-days-old. They called in one shaman, and
then another. Despite their efforts, the infant died. Under the tradi-
tional ideas the death was attributable to the will of the gods, and the
family had done all it could do. The villagers gossiped busily about

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the event, however, noting that the family was poor and had too many girls already; implicit in their gossip was a recognition that the family may have preferred to have the female infant die.

The attitude of the villagers toward the old and new medicine is a useful example of the way in which practical, external factors can affect "folk" beliefs and values. Here availability, finances, and family circumstances have combined to promote the acceptance of a new body of knowledge. The rural community of the Hsin Hsing area has accepted Western medicine without damage to its value structure or to its beliefs, incorporating the new quite comfortably into the old framework. Thus, when the villager calls upon a Western-style medical practitioner first of all, and the illness is not cured, he can still reinterpret the symptoms and assume that the cause was supernatural after all—perhaps possession by a demon. Then, to cope with the supernatural, he calls in a shaman.

Shamanistic Curing

Probably the most common form of illness treated in this manner is that which the villagers call a "fright" (*ching*). In this "illness" a child or infant does not eat or sleep properly and cries a great deal. The mother may decide that the child "has hit into a bad thing" (*ch'ung*) and that some kind of malevolent demon is causing the trouble. Although she may call in a Western-style doctor, most villagers assume that such symptoms result from supernatural causes and therefore require supernatural treatment.

The many different kinds of charms and instruments at the disposal of the *fa shih* are designed to enable him to bring about the release of the child's soul or spirit. If the patient does not respond at once to treatment, it may be repeated in a day or two or a more powerful *fa shih* may be called in. For the most part, whatever was causing the symptoms, they usually disappear after a few days, and the villagers consider that the *fa shih's* powers have cured the child.

Sometimes in the case of a fright a parent will attempt to effect a cure without the aid of a formally recognized shaman, especially when it appears that the child has been frightened by a definite agent which has caused his spirit to leave his body. If, for example, a dog is believed responsible, the parent will secure some of the dog's hair, wave it over the child's chest, and repeat over and over, "child's spirit return to the child." Or, the parent may feel that the child was frightened by some person. This was the case when a bearded American friend of ours visited the village and frightened a child. The American was then asked to spit into a cup brought by the child's mother. The saliva was brewed with some soup, fed to the child, and incantations were repeated to help the child's spirit return.

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demon, who can be bought off with bribes of food and money, to make him release the victim's spirit and then leave.

If neither the supernatural efforts of the *t'iao t'ung* and the *fa shih* nor the medical efforts of a doctor produce a cure, the family may conclude that the supernatural causes of the illness require more than medical or magical means. Recognizing the inadequacy of man and shaman in the situation, they are forced to decide that it is necessary to appeal to the gods for help. The family then asks the entire village to sacrifice to the gods in the hope that they may intervene in behalf of the sick person. If even this effort fails and the patient dies, the villagers then conclude that the person was "fated to die at this time." While one informant noted that "Fate is a person's explanation of what has already happened," most villagers feel that "a person is fated to die at a certain time and the gods can do little to control or change that fate. If the person becomes ill when he is due to die, it is no use to call a *t'iao t'ung*. That person's life is already full and so there is nothing that can be done to make his life longer. If the gods could save those who are fated to die, then later there would be so many people that people would eat people."

A Case in Point

During my stay in Hsin Hsing village, I witnessed a case in which a family used Western- and Chinese-style doctors, several *t'iao t'ung* and *fa shih*, and eventually a joint village *pai-pai* to the gods in order to cure a sick member of the family. The family's twenty-year-old daughter had displayed signs of insanity over a period of several years. When she was disturbed she was subject to attacks of extreme depression accompanied by brief, but sudden, outbursts of intense crying, screaming, and cursing. When anyone, including her parents, attempted to quiet her, she would strike out at them wildly. For weeks at a time, the girl could scarcely perform her ordinary duties. Then her aberration would pass and for several months or nearly a year the girl would behave normally until she was taken with another attack.

The first of these attacks took place while the girl was living in Taipei, where she kept house for her father who worked there. The girl's mother and other siblings were living in the village, working the family's small piece of land. When the girl first became disturbed, a Western-style and then a Chinese-style doctor were called in to treat her.⁴ When they were unable to help, a master *fa shih* was called in and, according to the villagers, cured the girl completely. However, the *fa shih* became angry when he was not given enough money as a reward for his aid. The family and villagers feel that as a result he put a curse on the girl and that since that time she has suffered these intermittent attacks.⁵

606 open conflict which threatens the harmony, and indeed the very existence of the extended family. Although obviously biased in favor of the speaker's point of view, the following excerpt from a village conversation indicates something of the intensity of the conflict between the two women. The conversation refers to a recent death which a shaman interpreted as the result of a death bed curse.

"You didn't know my mother-in-law, did you? My mother-in-law was terrible at cursing people. She used every kind of curse. But I was very good to her just the same. I took her food to her when it was time to eat no matter how far away from the house she was. So when she died my husband's father said to me, 'All right, she is dead now. It doesn't matter how much she cursed you. You were so good to her that from now on you will certainly have good fortune and live very well.' The mother-in-law of that woman who died could really curse people, and so I think that what the god said is right. That woman really didn't treat her mother-in-law at all well. Her mother-in-law was blind and bedridden, and she seldom went to look after her or feed her. She wasn't filial to her mother-in-law, and so naturally what her mother-in-law said came true. I think that if you are filial to your mother-in-law it doesn't matter how much she may curse you."

An occasional good-tempered daughter-in-law will ignore her mother-in-law's provocations, and not all mothers-in-law are sharp tongued and unreasonable curmudgeons. Exceptions do occur, but they are rare. Our field notes include references to bitter quarrels or complaints involving nearly every mother-in-law and daughter-in-law living in the village during the period of our study. So nearly universal is the tension between the two women that the villagers themselves regard a peaceful relationship as extraordinary. When one village woman let it be known that she thought that her new daughter-in-law was both considerate and hard-working the situation became a

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591 for his wife's mother; and two of the children bear his wife's family's name. Despite this evidence, however, the marriage is not generally thought of in Hsiachichou as a matrilocal marriage, the primary reason [829] being that Pe A-hong's husband has too much money. The attitude of the villagers is that no man who was wealthy would marry into his wife's family, and this must be simply a case in which a man has let his wife's mother come to live with him and his family.

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[546] One of the two girls who became prostitutes when their marriages failed was a young woman who had married matrilocally. When her husband deserted her after quarreling with her parents, she was forced to work in order to support the family. The second case involved a ⁵⁴⁸
*597 woman by the name of Lim Li-kui whose history is one of the most complex in our genealogies. Born into a family living in the market town of Panchiao, Lim Li-kui was adopted by an Ong family in Hsiachichou when she was three or four years old. Why the Ong family adopted her is not entirely clear. They already had female children of their own, and they had adopted sim-pu^A for both of their sons. It is possible that the family had a third son who died in childhood, and that we missed him in collecting our genealogies because of their reluctance to discuss the death. At any rate, when Lim Li-kui was nine or ten years old the family decided that they had made a mistake in adopting the girl, and "sold" her to a Lim family living in the town of Chungli. This family adopted the girl to marry her to

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[590] their eldest son, but Lim Li-kui and the boy "didn't get along and so she married out of the family." This marriage turned out to be no

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[466] Efforts towards Japanization were maximized during
World War II. Men were conscripted into labor battalions,
some for short periods nearby and others were sent to con-
quered territories such as the Philippines. A small acid
factory was built near the village during the war and just
before the war ended, American planes strafed the factory
and killed three water buffalo and two people. (It is
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[761] interesting that the story of the attack was always re-
peated with the deaths of water buffalo listed first and
the two children, a girl from Erhlei and a boy from San-
lei, listed last.)

175 When control was returned to the Chinese (referred
to as the Restoration), villagers were excited and pleased.
Unfortunately, a particularly harsh Governor, General Chen
Yi, was appointed and his measures were extremely abusive.
He was executed on June 16, 1950 for his "abuse of the
Formosan people in 1946 and 1947" among a list of other
reasons according to the government announcement (Kerr,
175 1965:396). The initial good will was soon dissipated. In
648 spite of the arguments of the official government, the
Taiwanese, those who were residents before the establish-
ment of Japanese suzerainty, carefully distinguish them-
selves from those who came later, the "Mainlanders," as
the latter distinguish themselves from the Taiwanese. The
identification is permanent, i.e., the children of Main-
landers are Mainlanders even when born on Taiwan.

787 Several villagers have some knowledge of ti-li standards which are considered sufficient for houses but a professional geomancer is usually consulted to orient the stove.

787 Normally, geomancy is referred to as feng shui (literally,

192 wind and water) with respect to orienting graves. Ti-li

• 761 is an alternative expression which refers to the activities of the same man (geomancer) when he is engaged in activities not related to death. There is some reluctance to connect the stove, for instance, with death. Nevertheless, both terms are sometimes used for the stove or house but only feng-shui is used for graves or temples.

342 As more space is needed in the house, ten-foot wings are extended at right angles from each end of the main section on the side of the building with the lung t'ing door. Each added room is about 10' by 10'. The wings may eventually become five or six rooms long. The long-range aim is a "u-shaped" building with a courtyard in the central partially enclosed area. Several village dwelling units have reached this stage (One is illustrated in Figure 12). Others may assume the shape of an "L" before the last wing is added (A distribution of various shapes can easily be seen in Figure 2). Since the large "u-shaped" building is predicated on the basis it will be occupied by a single kinship group, many buildings never complete the full development cycle as families do not expand as expected. The most modern houses of concrete,

- 756 (master of green grass) in Hsin Tien and a mi fang hsien (master of secret remedies) in Taipei. Shamans usually appear to be consulted with reference to illnesses which are psychosomatic in nature or those which are relatively hopeless, i.e., medical advice has not worked. This latter may be merely because sufficient time for medical treatment to take effect has not elapsed. If someone is sick, many kinds of practitioners may be consulted quickly, both medical and religious. Serious illness in children, male and female alike, stimulates the call for a shaman quicker than would identical symptoms in adults. Shamans are rarely used for old people (beyond age 60) who have not been vigorous recently because after 60, death is considered inevitable and any years granted beyond 60 were only due to the favor of the gods. With a terminal illness, the family patiently waits for death without treatment.
- 793 Some of the temples in Hsin Tien and Taipei have
[787] priests such as Tao jen (Men of the tao). Priests are consulted with reference to the suitability of a pair for marriage (kan ming hsien) and also for illness (chung t'ou [755] Taoist). Curing involves a procedure much like that described for the fortune sticks in the village temple except the stick specifies a potion to be consumed instead of a fortune. Priests themselves do not have the specific personal powers of shamans but do have the ability to perform [764] proper rituals. Two part-time hei t'ou (Black-headed

Death and Beyond

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184 Death and burial have often been described for Chinese communities (Gallin, 1966:219-30; Fei, 1939:75-9; M. Yang, 1945:86-90; C. K. Yang, 1967:28-53). Although there are regional differences, significant elements are reasonably similar in Sanlei and due to limited space, the below account will not be detailed nor elaborate. Instead, remarks are restricted to particular local variations not adequately described in the literature or to those which bear directly on the problem focus of the paper. The reader is referred to the literature for more complete accounts.

764 Death ritual varies in accordance with age, sex, marital situation, the number of descendants, and the financial status of the family. In general, the greater the wealth, age, and/or number of descendants, the larger and
766 more elaborate the ceremony. As already stated, death before reaching the first thirty days of age is not ritualized at all and the death of a child at any age is seldom accompanied by any ceremony. There is considerable resentment
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562 directed against a male who lived some years but died before producing offspring for villagers claim he has cheated his parents by failing to repay their investment in him with grandchildren. There is no corresponding attitude toward the early death of females unless they have only a few siblings, none of whom are males, and in this case, the resentment is related to the fact that there were plans for an

761 adopted-in husband marriage which was supposed to produce
562 children but which will now be impossible.

764 Regular funerals are usually held only for married
593 people with children⁸ and the kind of ceremony held does
602 furnish a clue to the relative status of males and females.
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In similar social positions, the ceremony for a male will be more elaborate than that for a female. In a single household however, it is likely that the ceremony for a married-in female who has borne several children will be much more elaborate than that for her husband's unmarried male brother although both died at the same age. This fact does support my contention that the woman with children is fully incorporated into her husband's chia. The bulk of the most elaborate funerals ever witnessed in the village area are those of females but this is not due to a preference for females but only due to the fact that women tend to outlive men. The oldest people are usually females and as stated, the more descendants a person has, the larger the funeral ceremony.

761 There are significant differences relating to natural death versus accidental death. Natural death is the result of old age or disease while accidental death involves violence such as a fall or a mine cave in. Natural death is
763 celebrated in the kung t'ing and if it looks like someone is about to die, he is moved to the kung t'ing to await death.
764 On the other hand, a body of an individual who had an accidental death may not be brought into the kung t'ing or any

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- 761 other part of the house and the funeral must be celebrated
764 in the courtyard outside the house.

761 An accidental death always generates much additional
775 fear in the village area for it is said that the spirit of
a man who dies in violence is very angry and will always
take another person with him for company, i.e., someone
else in the village will quickly die after an accidental
death. There was one miner killed in a mine cave-in during
our stay in the village and his body remained out in the
courtyard. Although villagers prefer internment within two
days at the most, his body lay out three days because the
government insurance inspectors who had to view his body
before releasing the insurance proceeds were delayed. Be-
fore the funeral was over, indeed, in the midst of the
ceremony, a small child in the village died of pneumonia.
Everyone agreed that the death was due to the spirit of the
dead miner and although saddened by the death of the baby,
everyone was greatly relieved for the danger was now over
as the spirit's need for a victim was sated.

764 There is a public cemetery started by the Japanese
777 in the Wulei area which permits free burials for Talei Li
785 residents and charges \$25.00 for outsiders. About seven
763 years after burial, if there are descendants, the body is
exhumed and a specialist puts the bones in a special ceramic
pot in the proper order as if the individual were in an up-
right position. This pot is then placed in a good location